

Foreign Women Living in Japan : a Survey

Part 3

Changes

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要 約

日本に居住する外国人女性についての調査—— その3 —— 変 化

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今回の調査の目的は、日本に居住する外国人女性回答者が、日本におけるそれらの一般的行動と装い方に何らかの変化を来たしたか否か、そしてどのような変化を来たしたかを検証するものである。本稿においてはそれらの変化を回答者の年齢、教育背景、結婚歴、職業、日本に居住している年数との関連において考察し、回答者の自国における生活様式と日本におけるそれとの相違点を、交通機関、家屋、家具、電気機器、食物、服装、髪形、職業、金銭、および安全という点から検証する。また、回答者の現在の生活様式を、本調査が行われた時点より25年前の日本における外国人のそれと比較検証する。

Part 3 : Changes

Introduction

Living in a country and culture different from one's own has its problems, stresses, and rewards. Problems may arise from differences in the physical conditions of daily life, differences of role and expectations in the work situation, differences in verbal and nonverbal behavior, and differences in social customs. Stress also arises from issues of personal identity, privacy, looking different, loneliness, and for women, the manner of dress and the perhaps differing status of women in the new culture. Stress is "a fact of life, something built-in, which must be dealt with in the normal course of living overseas." (Piet-Pelon 193) Dealing with the stresses and developing new ways to cope can strengthen a person. Change is one way to cope with stress. There may be changes in physical appearance, in behavior, and in perception, attitudes, values. For many, living overseas is one of the most memorable and gratifying periods of their lives, a time of personal growth.

Aims

The aims of this part of the survey are to investigate if and how the respondents, who are foreign women living in Japan, made changes in their general behavior and manner of dress while in Japan. I will view these changes in relation to the respondents' age, educational background, marital status, work status, and length of time living in Japan. I will also examine the differences between their lifestyles in their own countries and in Japan in terms of transportation, housing, furniture, electrical equipment, food, clothes and hair, work, money and public safety.

Method

The Survey. The questionnaire was in English. It was divided into the following eight parts : Japanese language, Characteristics of the Japanese, Discrimination, Sexual harassment, Changes in behavior, Life-style differences, Other time spent overseas, and Personal information.

Population. The population chosen for the survey was subject to the availability of various registers of names. I used registers of teachers in the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) program, of parents and teachers at a large international school in Kobe, of members of a social club for foreign residents in Kobe, of some members of Foreign Executive Women's Club of Osaka (FEW), and also sent some questionnaires to personal friends who teach at universities in the Kansai area of western Japan. The members of the Japan Exchange and Teaching program live in all prefectures of Japan: on small islands, in very rural areas, in small and large towns, and in cities of all sizes.

A total of 1,250 questionnaires were mailed between April and June, 1994. By October of the same year, 584, or 46.7% of the questionnaires had been returned.

In the section entitled "Changes in behavior", respondents were asked the following questions :

25. Have you changed your general behavior since you have been in Japan?
Yes, a lot. () Yes, somewhat. () Yes, a little. () No, not at all. ()
26. If yes, in what ways have you changed your general behavior?
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____
d. _____
e. _____
27. Have you changed your manner of dress : Yes () No ()
28. If yes, in what way(s)?
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____
33. How is your life-style different here in Japan from your previous life-style in your home country in terms of ...
a. transportation _____
b. housing _____
c. furniture _____
d. electrical equipment _____
e. food _____
f. clothes/hair _____
g. work _____
h. money _____
i. public safety _____

General behavior and communicative style

Japanese society emphasizes status, formality, group membership, reciprocity, and social obligations. These values may be seen in such behaviors as bowing, exchanging personal cards, differences in rank and relationship, wearing of company pins, and gift-giving.

Barnlund (1975) asked Japanese university students to make ten statements about what they were like in interpersonal relations. They responded with the following :

I try to behave according to my role and circumstances.

I try to be as polite as possible.

I rarely show my true self.

I don't say all of what I think.

I use words that won't hurt anyone.

I try not to disagree.

I never talk about my inner feelings.

I always smile when I talk. (57-58)

Some other characteristics of Japanese speech style and behavior are indirectness, formality, silence, caution, use of understatement, speaking quietly, apologizing easily and often, seldom laughing or laughing modestly. (Barnlund 26-27, 50-52)

Japanese body language is rather self-contained ; people talk with their hands at their sides, there may be little eye contact, there is no touching, no physical contact among acquaintances. Yet, Japanese are seemingly casual about physical contact with strangers, as can be seen on rush hour trains. Barnlund notes two circumstances in which " Japanese drastically change their communicative manner. And both increase rather than reduce physical and verbal disclosure. The first is an assignment to live in a more demonstrative culture. The second is to come under the influence of alcohol." (112)

The Western cultures in which the women in this study were socialized have different values, behaviors, and communicative styles. North Americans especially value individualism, privacy, equality and informality. They consider an ideal person to be self-reliant, individualistic and independent. They need time to be alone to recover spent psychological energy. They shake hands and do not often use honorific titles. They use first names and dress more casually. Anyone may wear jeans and sandals or other informal attire in public. (Althen 6-10)

In communicating, North Americans are more direct, honest, reveal inner feelings more, talk more loudly, laugh often and loudly, are self-assertive, frank, talkative, spontaneous, informal, use humor, tease people , and may have heated arguments for the sake of argument. (Barnlund 26-27)

Westerners are apt to use gestures freely while speaking, make more eye contact, kiss when greeting or saying good-bye, touch more frequently while speaking.(Barnlund 112) They may slouch on chairs or lean on walls or furniture, rather than maintain an erect bearing. (Althen 10)

The status, roles and behavior of women in Japan is also different from the countries in which the respondents were socialized. Generally, women's status is lower than in Western countries. Japanese women's roles are different : they may manage the family economy, do the housework and all the cooking, and have jobs. Their outward behavior shows them deferring to men : pouring their beer, lighting their cigarettes, following a man through an open door. In communicating, they use women's language which is considered more polite, speak softly, apologize more, agree with men more, speak less in the presence of men. In body language, they sit erect, cover their mouths while laughing quietly, sit on the floor with their legs neatly tucked beneath them, and sit in chairs without crossing their legs in public.

Many Western women are used to being considered equal to men. They may share the housework, cooking, the family money, and have responsible jobs. Men might defer to them : men might open the door for them, let them go first through the door, help them on with their coats. They may use more polite language, but less often. They may speak more loudly, disagree with men, talk more with men. They do not cover their mouths while laughing. They may be feminine in their appearance and body language : not

crossing their legs while sitting in a chair. How much women wish to assume the feminine role depends on the woman and her personality. She may be as feminine as she likes. She will not necessarily feel a strong pressure from society for her to appear feminine in public.

Given these differences in values, behavior, communicative style, body language and status between Japanese and Western cultures, how do the women respondents in the survey deal with these differences? Do they change their behavior? If they do, what do they change?

In *Women's Guide to Overseas Living*, Piet-Pelon and Hornby suggest women look around them to copy what the local women wear, watch where they go alone and where local women are accompanied to adjust to being women in the new culture. (71) Barnlund says, "Occasionally as a result of specific instructions, but more often by simply observing the actions of others, the individual learns what to notice or disregard, what is vital or trivial to survival, what should be censored or expressed, and to whom and in what form to express ideas and feelings." (29)

Results in changes in general behavior

Below are the results in terms of percentages of responses to the question, have you changed your general behavior since you have been in Japan?

Table 1
Changes in general behavior

<u>Yes, a lot</u>	<u>Yes, somewhat</u>	<u>Yes, a little</u>	<u>No, not at all</u>
10%	37.3%	42.2%	10.5%

Table 2
Place they live and change in behavior

	<u>Yes, a lot</u>	<u>Yes, somewhat</u>	<u>Yes, a little</u>	<u>No, not at all</u>
city	8.7%	37.8%	41.5%	12%
town	10.8	36.7	44.3	8.2
country	12.4	33.3	48.1	6.2

Table 3
Length of time in Japan and change in behavior

	<u>Yes, a lot</u>	<u>Yes, somewhat</u>	<u>Yes, a little</u>	<u>No, not at all</u>
under 6 mo.	0%	0%	0%	100%
6 mo-1 yr.	9.7	31.0	46.4	12.9
1-2 yr.	11.0	41.6	40.7	6.7
3-5 yr.	10.0	40.0	38.6	11.4
6-10 yr.	3.1	50.0	40.6	6.3
10-20 yr.	18.2	27.3	36.3	18.2
20+ yr.	14.3	57.1	14.3	14.3

Table 4
Age and change in behavior

	<u>Yes, a lot</u>	<u>Yes, somewhat</u>	<u>Yes, a little</u>	<u>No, not at all</u>
20's	11.4%	37.9%	41.3%	9.4%
30's	7.1	32.9	45.7	14.3
40+	4.4	39.7	44.1	11.8

Table 5
Work status and change in behavior

	<u>Yes, a lot</u>	<u>Yes, somewhat</u>	<u>Yes, a little</u>	<u>No, not at all</u>
mother	0%	25.6%	55.8%	18.6%
homemaker	5.9	35.3	47.0	11.8
part-time work	7.4	51.9	37.0	3.7
full-time work/student	11.3	37.7	41.2	9.8

Table 6
Education and change in behavior

	<u>Yes, a lot</u>	<u>Yes, somewhat</u>	<u>Yes, a little</u>	<u>No, not at all</u>
high school	0%	38.5%	46.1%	15.4%
university	9.8	37.3	42.7	10.2
graduate school	14.3	34.9	41.3	9.5

Table 7
Marital status and change in behavior

	<u>Yes, a lot</u>	<u>Yes, somewhat</u>	<u>Yes, a little</u>	<u>No, not at all</u>
married	5.7%	33.3%	46.8%	14.2%
single/divorced	11.6	38.7	40.4	9.3

Discussion

A little less than 90% of the women say they have changed their general behavior while in Japan. I am mostly concerned with the two extremes, those who said they changed a lot and those who said they did not change at all.

Women living in the country, Table 2, were above the average for the most change and below the average with 6.2% saying they did not change at all. People living in the countryside are often thought to be more conservative than those living in the city so the women may have changed to fit in more or stand out less. The city women reported that they had changed a lot less than the average and twice as many said they did not change at all. Depending on the city, it might be less necessary to change, even a little.

Longer term residents, Table 3, reported a higher percentage of extreme change in the 20-30 year and over 20 year residence groups, however they also reported no change at all in the same numbers. Perhaps they think that some changes are more due to getting older, rather than living in Japan. The 1-2 year and 6-10 year resident groups have lower than average numbers in responding 'no change at all'.

In Table 4, more women in their 20's reported changing a lot than average, and women in the 40 and above age group reported much less change at the top with 4.4%. Perhaps youth is a time of change.

In Table 5, mothers and homemakers were much less likely to change a lot ; mothers were much more likely not to change at all, 18.6%. The part-time workers had the lowest percent, 3.7 reported no change whatsoever. Full-time workers and students were quite close to the average in all groups.

With regards to education in Table 6, there is a difference between those who finished high school and those who finished graduate school. No high school graduate said she changed a lot while 14.3% of the longer-educated women said they did. A larger percentage of the high school reported no change at all than those with longer education.

In Table 7, the married women were less likely to change a lot and more likely to report no change at all than the group of single and divorced women.

Results on how the women changed

If the women did report that they had changed, they were asked to write in and explain the ways in which they had changed. Some wrote only one item, while others wrote in five or six ways that they had changed. Sometimes the meanings of the words they used overlapped somewhat. This part of the survey was difficult to count and classify. I have classified the changes into two main groups : those more like Japanese communicative and behavioral patterns and those more related to overseas living experience in any country.

The reported changes which are related to Japanese culture and behavior include being more reserved (68 women), less outspoken (50), more polite (37) bowing (26), speaking more quietly (25), acting Japanese (21), conforming more (21) and being less assertive (21).

Between 10 and 19 people reported the following changes : apologizing more, acting more feminine, using Japanese body language, avoiding expressing anger, avoiding men, not touching people while talking, observing social customs, and being more conservative, more sensitive to others, more humble, more harmonious, less assertive, less direct, less aggressive, and less frank. They also mentioned drinking parties : avoiding men at parties, not drinking at parties, not going to drinking parties and being more cautious at drinking parties.

Between 1 and 9 women reported sitting Japanese style, using less space, using more greetings, thanking more often, agreeing more, using more formal language, giving presents more, paying people back more, smiling more, respecting age more, carrying a handkerchief, trying not to offend people, not blowing their nose in public, making less eye contact, not telling jokes, laughing less, not kissing their husbands in public, drinking more tea, and becoming pushy on public transport. They are also more conscious of rank, more aware of nonverbal behavior, more aware of sexual inequality, more aware of hidden motives, more feminine, more vague, more tactful, more punctual, more modest, more unobtrusive, more considerate, more diplomatic in expressing opinions, less affec-

tionate, less critical, less individualistic and one woman wrote that she is not 'out' as a lesbian here, although she was in her home country.

The reported changes which may be related to any overseas living experience include becoming more self-conscious (49 women), more patient (42), more tolerant (35) with three being less tolerant, more private (28), less outgoing (26) with seventeen being more outgoing, and less friendly (24).

Between 10 and 19 women wrote that they were more independent, more confident, more outgoing, more friendly, some more cautious and others less cautious, and feel more alone here.

Between 1 and 9 said they use a smaller English vocabulary, ask fewer questions due to inadequate language ability, spend more time at home, have fewer male friends, slouch more, exercise more but don't go jogging alone or at night, don't go out at night, don't go to bars alone and have more mood swings. They are more aware of discrimination, more outgoing with friends, more active, stronger, more generous, more flexible, more aggressive, more mature, more optimistic, more outspoken, more skeptical, more stressed, more negative, more insecure, less social, less defensive, and some became more and others less suspicious, some more and others less trusting. One is convinced she has become a boring person. Some of these are the result of good and bad experiences ; others are the result of living in a rural area or in a foreign country away from family and old friends.

Changes in manner of dress

Since Japanese culture is more formal and conservative, it is no surprise that these traits are revealed in the way people dress. Japanese women dress more conservatively at work and in public. Modesty is expected. They wear stockings in all seasons and sometimes with shorts in summer. Short shorts and ragged clothes are not usually worn in public. Japanese take their roles in society and in a group seriously. This is reflected in wearing the appropriate clothes for the role or activity. They will wear long woolen socks and thick tweed trousers as correct hiking attire, in summer or winter. Students dress like students, more casually ; teachers dress like teachers ; wives dress like wives, pregnant women wear socks and thick stockings, bar hostesses wear revealing clothes. There are differences between city and country as well. In the countryside, there are clothes for working in the rice fields, *mompe*, and clothes for the housewife to wear, the white cotton apron covering the top part of the body and the arms.

In terms of dress, Western women, especially North Americans, may dress casually while shopping in a supermarket or while eating at a fast food restaurant. Western women will often not wear stockings in hot weather, preferring sandals. They may wear sleeveless clothes or sundresses in summer. If worn, aprons are worn in the kitchen, not in the other rooms of the house or in the street.

Results in changes in manner of dress

Below are the results in terms of percentages of responses to the question, have you changed your manner of dress?

Table 8
Change in manner of dress

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
60.5%	39.5%

Table 11
Age and change in dress

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
20's	63.5%	36.5%
30's	50.0	50.0
40's	52.2	47.8

Table 9
Place they live and change in dress

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
city	57.5%	42.5%
town	64.1	35.9
country	64.2	35.8

Table 12
Work status and change in dress

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
mother	52.4%	47.6%
homemaker	35.3	64.7
part-time work	48.1	51.9
full-time work/student	62.6	37.4

Table 10
Length of time in Japan and change in dress

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
under 6 mo.	100%	0%
6 mo-1 yr.	61	39
1-2 yrt	62	38
3-5 yr.	59.4	40.6
6-10 yr.	50	50
11-20 yr.	40	30
20+ yr.	43	57

Table 13
Education and change in dress

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
high school	33.3%	66.7%
university	60.7	39.3
graduate school	64.0	36.0

Table 14
Marital status and change in dress

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
married	49.6%	50.4%
single/divorced	63.5	36.5

Discussion

60.5% of the women reported that they had changed their manner of dress in Japan. Women in towns and in the country have changed style more than women in the cities. Seventy percent of the women who have been in Japan for 10-20 years reported more change whereas women in Japan for over 20 years reported less. I wonder if they ascribe changes to their age rather than length of stay in Japan. The percentage of change in the under 6 month group is large simply because the group represented only 1% of the respondents in the survey. Young women in their twenties also have a higher than average percentage. Homemakers were the least likely group to change their manner of dress. Women who finished graduate school had a higher than average percentage of change. High school graduates made up 2% of the respondents in this study so the figures may be skewed. Married women felt less need to change.

If women did report that they had changed their manner of dress, they were then asked to explain how or what they had changed. Again they could write in one or many answers. I will divide these responses into those refering in general to their attire and

those referring to specific articles of clothing.

Women reported that their dress was more conservative (186), that they wore neutral, darker, drab colors with fewer patterns (48), their dress was more formal (56) more professional (20), and that they dressed more neatly (16).

Fewer than 10 women each reported that they wear better clothes, that their clothes were more age appropriate, more practical in that they dress for the weather, using more layers for warmth in winter, that their clothes were more comfortable, simpler, more casual for bicycling, more modest, cuter, less fashionable, and that they wore more sports shoes and no heels for easier walking, more nice shoes, no sandals and more slip on shoes.

Regarding specific articles of clothing, 114 mentioned tops : no tank tops, no tight tops, no low tops, no transparent tops and wearing higher necklines and keeping the top button on tops buttoned up. They also wrote that they wear no sleeveless dresses or tops (49), wear longer skirts and no miniskirts (24), wear stockings more often (21), stopped wearing shorts (19), wear less jewelry (18), stopped wearing long or large earrings (11) and wear pants more often, often because they cycle.

Fewer than 10 women each mentioned stopping wearing sundresses, stopped wearing jeans at work, wear more scarves, more jackets, no white tee shirts, no bikinis at the beach or pool, no hats, no nail polish, no perfume, less make-up. Two said they wear bras all the time in Japan and one said she no longer wears her nose ring.

Most of the changes in dress that the women made were towards the style of dress worn by the Japanese women around them. Many made the changes to be less conspicuous or to be more comfortable. Others said they stopped wearing something after co-workers made a few negative comments on their clothes.

There were a few women who reported that they did not change their style of dress because they stand out anyway as foreign women and so changing their dress would make no difference. Piet-Pelon says that looking different is one of the stresses to be borne by women overseas. She remarks that "In countries where your physical characteristics ... mark you clearly as different, you may feel a discomfort you have never experienced before. It takes time to get used to being different, to knowing that you will be stared at no matter how conservative your dress or unassuming your manner." (74)

Life-style differences

The respondents were asked the question, how is your life-style different here in Japan from your previous life-style in your home country in terms of ... transportation, housing, furniture, electrical equipment, food, clothes/hair, work, money and public safety. These were chosen for two reasons : the first is that women are affected more by household affairs than men because they often are the ones to prepare the menu, go food shopping, use the washer and other electrical appliances, worry about their hair and clothes, worry about what the house looks like and be affected more by public safety. If they are unhappy about where and how they live, it adds to the other stresses of their daily lives. If they work, they will want to arrive on time, looking presentable. Public safety affects peace of mind.

There are various books and guidelines available to newcomers coming to Japan today, as well as orientation programs given by some organizations to people who are coming. Not everyone who settles in Japan has these available before they come. Or the advice given is for Tokyo and they live in a rural area. Or they are given housing with the job and have no choice. One such book, *Living in Japan*, was published by the American Chamber of Commerce to give advice to American businessmen coming to work in Japan. In an old copy, published twenty-six years ago in 1969, advice is given on transport, housing, furniture, electrical equipment, food, and clothes. Although Japan has become very modern in the past twenty-six years in terms of car manufacturing, transport systems, housing, electronics, and the importation of more furniture, food products, and clothing, there still exist large differences between what is available in a city where numbers of foreigners live and the towns and rural areas where few Westerners live. There is also a difference between the housing benefits given to the diplomat or foreign business executive and the often non-existent benefits given to a teacher. Some Western women today may have the same complaints as they did then. For this reason, I will compare what the respondents wrote about their life-styles with the comments and advice given in the 1969 book.

Transportation

The American Chamber of Commerce, in 1969, mentioned the high duties on importing your own car. They advise the businessman to buy a foreign used car from people leaving the military, diplomatic service or other businessmen. They outline the high price of Japanese cars, the 1968 production of which was 3.4 million cars. (76) They say that "Chauffeurs, at least in the Tokyo, Osaka, or Kobe areas are considered a 'must' by American businessmen." (90) They do not advise the businessman to take public transport everyday because the trains are very crowded and otherwise uncomfortable. Commuting seems to be extremely unpleasant.

In contrast, 220 women responded that they have no car here but they did have one in their own countries, while 17 have one here, but did not have a car at home. 248 wrote that they take public transport; 148 mentioned that they have a bicycle here; 9 have scooters and 41 walk more than before. Less than 10 thought driving was worse, more frustrating, and more dangerous in Japan. They thought Japanese transportation systems were better (24), more convenient (22), more efficient (17), more expensive (12), and fewer than 10 wrote that transportation in Japan is safe, punctual, quick, easy to use, and crowded. Only 5 wrote that transportation is worse in Japan than at home.

Housing

Living in Japan, 1969, talks about the smaller size, the exorbitant rents, the key or 'thank you' money needed, the rare central heating, and expensive electricity and water rates. They say Japanese-style housing is not appreciated by Americans and so they advise the businessman to choose a semi-western house or apartment with a maid's room. (71-72)

With regard to size, 170 women said their housing was smaller in Japan, 41 said it was bigger. 53 said their housing was the same, 20 said better, and 7 worse. 153 women are living alone for the first time, either having lived with parents or roommates before. 54 reported that they are living in an apartment for the first time. 23 called housing rents expensive. 31 complained of no central heating, 17 of no garden, 16 of no hot running water, 8 of less storage and 8 of not having a flush toilet. Fewer than 5 each mentioned frozen pipes, the poor quality of construction, having no shower, no carpet, no insulation, no balcony, no screens on the windows, no air-conditioner, low counters in the kitchen, thinner walls, small kitchens, bugs, cockroaches and mold. Fewer than 5 each said their housing was compact, convenient, safe, cold, disposable, dirty, ugly, dark, noisier, and less private because houses are built close together.

Furniture

The advisors from the American Chamber of Commerce in 1969 suggested bringing one's own furniture from the United States, buying used furniture from businessmen who were leaving Japan or having furniture custom-made because good western-style furniture was difficult to find at that time and because furnished houses were usually inadequately and sparsely furnished. (73)

261 women reported having less furniture than at home while 96 said they had the same amount. Many are living Japanese style, saying they have no bed (72), no sofa (49), no chairs (27), are on the floor (36) and have a *kotatsu* (41). Many women wrote that they preferred having less furniture and loved their *kotatsu*. 55 brought their own furniture to Japan and 15 had recycled furniture, sometimes from the rubbish heap. Furniture was seen as small (19), low (19), not comfortable (14), and shoddy (11). Fewer than 7 women said their place was well-furnished, that the furniture was better, simple, comfortable, expensive, new, nice. One said she only had cushions, another missed an ironing board and three wrote that they had no furniture at all.

Electrical equipment

In 1969, Americans complained of small stoves, small refrigerators, and small washers. They were warned against bringing their own washers and dryers because there was no space for them. (73) Today, Japan still suffers from a lack of space ; yet the electronics industry is flourishing with all sorts of electrical appliances for the home, from electric carpets to futon-dryers to fuzzy rice-cookers and washers.

191 of the foreign women reported having the same amount of electrical appliances, 85 had less and 79 more than at home. They complained of having no oven (61), no microwave (21), no clothes dryer (13) no dishwasher (8), and a useless, outdated, twin tub washer which shreds clothes (21), a small refrigerator (8). They thought the appliances were smaller (19), better (14), advanced (14), and fewer than 5 thought they were efficient, convenient, confusing, outdated, worse and less reliable. 28 mentioned having a rice-cooker, 2 an electric carpet, and 1 a one-ring cooker. One respondent wrote that more appliances are needed due to the changes of season, a heater and humidifier for

winter, a dehumidifier for the rainy season and summer, and an electric fan for summer.

Food

In 1969, the American Chamber of Commerce called Japan a paradise for the fish lover. They suggested people buy seasonal food. They said meat, butter, cheese, imported food, frozen and canned foods were expensive. The milk had a different taste from what one was accustomed to. (86)

Food is important for women as they are often the ones doing the menu planning, food shopping, and cooking. Living overseas means trying new foods and sometimes changing one's diet by eating what is easily available either in the countryside or in the city.

109 women reported that they eat mostly Japanese food, 57 reportedly ate the same food, and 32 said the food was different. 68 said food is expensive while 64 thought there was less variety, but 17 more variety. As far as diet is concerned, 55 specifically mentioned eating more rice, 41 less meat, 38 more fish, 14 more vegetables but 12 less vegetables, 4 more fruit but 19 less fruit because of the expense. 12 ate less ethnic food. 34 thought their diets were more healthy while 20 thought their diets less healthy. Fewer than 10 mentioned eating less cheese, less dairy, less frozen, less pizza, fewer potatoes, fewer western products, less fast food, more and less junk food, more and fewer sweets, more seafood, more noodles, more tofu, more chicken, and more fresh foods. Fewer than 10 said there no low-fat products, no turkey, no wholemeal bread, no natural foods, no mixes available. Less than 10 found it difficult to get what they want, found supermarkets useless, live where there are no convenience stores or no fast food places. Fewer than 5 said they cook more, do more shopping, order food by mail, do no baking, eat out more, think the food is appetizing or too salty. Finally, 15 vegetarians wrote that they have problems being vegetarian in Japan because they felt some Japanese they met didn't really understand what being vegetarian was, and that it was hard to get vegetarian food.

Clothes and hair

Living in Japan, 1969, advises people to bring warm clothes for winter and cool clothes for the hot and humid summers. Women are advised to bring their clothes and shoes with them since the only Japanese sizes were small, medium, and large with no extra long sizes. There was only one width in shoes and the shoes were not stylish. They recommended dressmakers and ladies' tailors as well as having shoes made to order. (84)

125 of the respondents in the survey reported that they did not buy clothes in Japan, 108 wrote same, 15 said they bought clothes by mail. 11 wrote they do not like Japanese styles. Fewer than 5 wrote they wore loose clothes in summer and more layers in winter. 2 wrote that the shoes are too small.

74 wrote in something about hair problems of which 16 mentioned cuts: having fewer cuts, cutting her own hair, having had bad cuts. 19 had their hair cut short to avoid problems with styles and humidity, while one grew her hair to avoid having it cut

at all. Others mentioned problems with Japanese hair products such as shampoos, conditioners, and hair dyes, 3 could not get their hair streaked, others found permanents expensive. One wrote that she missed having manicures and pedicures at beauty salons.

There is a great variety of hair types among western women and most Japanese hairdressers have little experience with different textures of hair, different thicknesses of hair, different head shapes and facial features. They seldom speak enough English, nor the western woman enough Japanese to communicate exactly what she wants done to her hair.

Work

Of the 584 women who responded to the survey, 84% have full-time jobs and 5% have part-time jobs. For most of them, job expectations and role behavior are very important. Fisher says that "Role behavior includes more subtle culturally-based expectations regarding the kind of people who can occupy positions, the style in which they must perform, and the way they should behave both on and off the job." (87) The differences in work values between cultures can also cause misunderstanding, frustration and stress in the international work place. Brislin notes five differences in work values between cultures : individualism versus collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity versus femininity, and in Asia, Confucian dynamism. (246-7) Japan is a collectivist society in which goals are likely to be attained through group effort. People are valued as part of the group. The group is a permanent part of Japanese people's lives. They usually have lengthy and life-long ties to the organization. In an individualistic society such as the United States, being part of a group is a choice. The groups exists for use as long as it serves its members' needs, which include its members' own personal goals. The group is not permanent ; once the goal is achieved, the group disperses. Power distance is connected to status. It involves the "amount of power that high-status groups have relative to lower-status groups, the degree to which the distinctions are built into societal institutions and people's acceptance of power distances as normal." (Brislin 255) Japan and Britain are high power distance countries ; the United States and New Zealand are low power distance countries. Brislin predicts that people from low power distance countries will find this one of the "most difficult cultural differences with which they will have to cope." (255) All cultures have guidelines that help to avoid uncertainty, but the difference is in the number and content of the rules, laws, norms and informal guidelines that people are expected to know. Countries high in uncertainty avoidance tend to have large numbers of detailed rules. Japan is higher in uncertainty avoidance than the United States so that an American might feel that spending the time and energy learning unimportant rules will be meaningless and interfere with her productivity and creativity. Japan is a highly masculine society with power being held by males. The lack of opportunities for women to achieve high-level leadership positions is a feature of Japanese society. There is a strong distinction between males as powerholders and females as subordinates in the Japanese work place. The United States is less masculine than Japan. Confucian dynamism refers to a set of values which

are often given as reasons to explain the economic growth in Asia, especially in Japan. Brislin sums up the three Confucian principles as follows :

1. Unequal status relationships lead to a stable society.
2. The family is typical of all social organizations.
3. Virtue in life consists of working hard, acquiring useful skills and as much education as possible, not being a spendthrift, and persevering when faced with difficult tasks. (262-63)

Many Western societies are lower on the Confucian dynamism factor than Japan. (Brislin 246-264) These sets of values are what makes the Japanese work place different from those of many other societies and may be the cause of stress and frustration for people from outside Japan and especially for the 89% of the respondents of this survey who work with Japanese.

157 of the respondents said they were students before and that this is their first full-time job ; 36 described their job as different ; 33 described it as the same as before. 19 cited longer hours while 14 shorter hours. 29 cited less responsibility while 2 more responsibility. 8 mentioned more busywork to fill in the time and 8 said there was more bureaucratic red tape. Fewer than 7 mentioned more awareness of hierarchy, unspoken pressure to conform, fewer office politics, the long decision-making process, more benefits, no retirement, no job advancement, no job description, no visa worries, less flexible working hours, more leniency in personal time off, more dependency on others, no feedback, more and less flexibility, more opportunities to find work, no private office, a smoking office, more holidays and more parties. They found their jobs easy (9), more demanding (2) and less demanding (9), more challenging (3) and not challenging (13), stimulating (5) and less stimulating (9), boring (12), more satisfying (21) and less satisfying (19), frustrating (6), more fun (3) and less fun (1), relaxing (3), more stressful (7) and less stressful (7). Six were shown less respect while one received more respect.

Money

494 women reported that they earned more money than before ; 27 received the same salary and 11 less than before. 114 said they spent more and that the cost of living was higher in Japan than at home. 26 said they save more and 18 carry more cash and use credit cards less often.

Public safety

Public safety affects peace of mind whether on the street or at home, alone in the case of single women. It also affects how much freedom mothers will allow their children and how much they will worry about their children if they come home late from school.

436 of the respondents wrote that Japan is safer than their own country ; 60 said the level of safety was the same as at home ; 11 said the level of safety was less than at home. 34 reported being able to walk alone at night. 40 reported worrying less, with 2 worrying more. 6 said they were more cautious ; 16 said they were less cautious ; 31 said they were still cautious. 2 mothers gave their children more freedom. 7 bike riders were

worried about dangers caused by crazy car drivers. 2 felt more vulnerable because they are more conspicuous as foreigners, 2 felt less secure in not knowing enough Japanese to call for help ; one reported being worried about no one helping in case of rape. One woman said she felt there was less physical violence here, but more sexual harassment while there was less sexual harassment in her country, but more physical violence.

In conclusion, I have looked at the changes in general behavior, in manner of dress and in life-styles as reported by the 584 foreign women who responded to the questionnaire. In looking at general behavioral changes, nearly 90% of the women changed at least a little to adjust to Japanese culture ; they changed in two ways— becoming closer to Japanese communicative and behavioral patterns and acquiring coping mechanisms and abilities which are useful to adapting to any culture. I have found that a little over 60% of the women changed their manner of dress to fit in more with Japanese manner of dress and to stand out less. Through a comparison with advice given twenty-six years ago to Americans coming to live in Japan, I have found that some of the same problems and complaints exist today.

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